

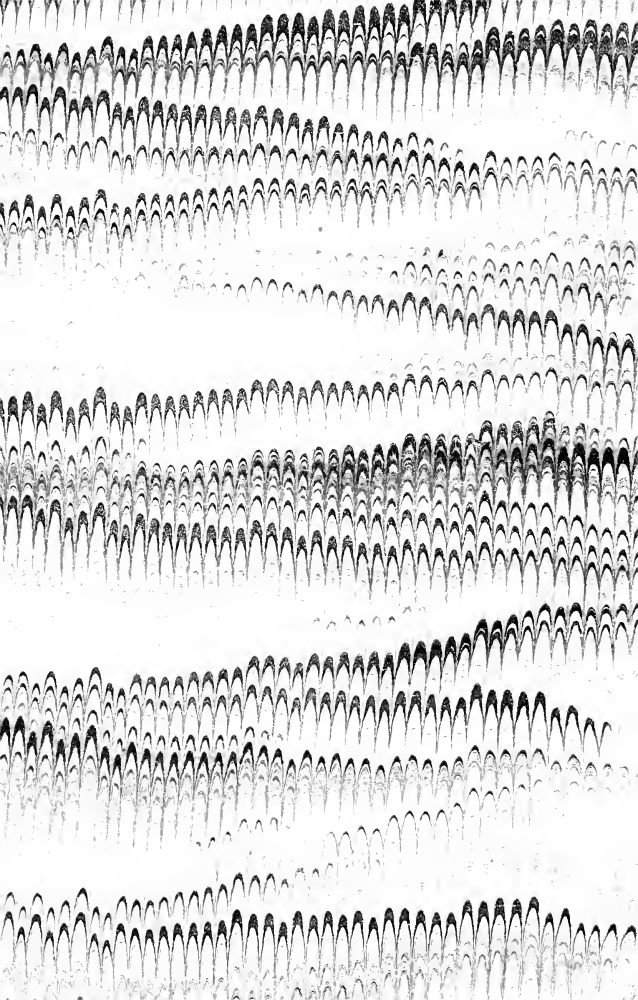
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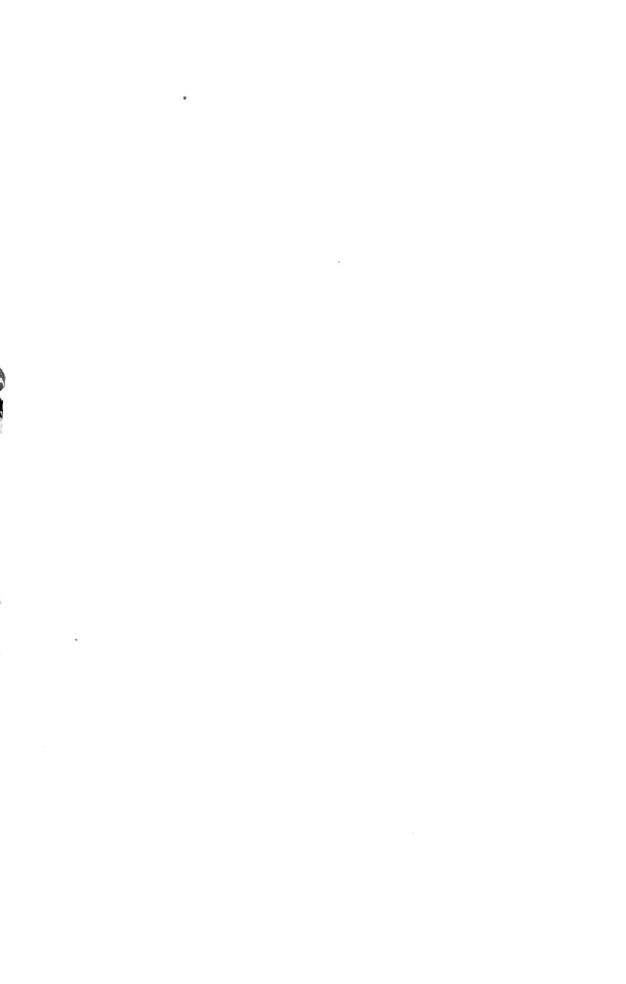
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THE



FENIAN

BROTHERHOOD

THE
FENIANS' PROGRESS :
A Vision.

CONTAINING

THE INSPIRATIONS OF GENERAL RICHARD
MONTGOMERY, AND LORD EDWARD
FITZGERALD.

TOGETHER WITH A

THRILLING ACCOUNT OF THE "AVENGING
ANGELS," IN NEW AND OLD IRELAND.

TO WHICH IS ADDED A MODE OF MANAGING FUNDS SO AS TO INSURE TO THE
INDIVIDUAL SUBSCRIBER AN ABSOLUTE CERTAINTY THAT HIS MONEY
SHALL BE INVESTED FOR HIS OWN INTEREST, OR BE PROPERLY
DEVOTED TO THE GREAT CAUSE FOR WHICH IT WAS GIVEN,
WHEN THERE ARE INDUBITABLE MORAL AND PHY-
SICAL PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS, ETC., ETC.

ALSO,

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FENIAN BROTHERHOOD.

NEW YORK :
PUBLISHED BY JOHN BRADBURN,
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THE FENIAN BROTHERHOOD.

CHAPTER I.

THE CAUSES OF MY DREAM.

Divinity hath oftentimes descended
Upon our slumbers, and the blessed troupes
Have, in the calm and quiet of the soul,
Conversed with us.—SHIRLEY.

But dreams full oft are found of real events
The forms and shadows.—JOANNA BAILLIE'S *ETHWOLD*.

We dream what is about to happen.—BAILEY.

BEING a true son of heroic, unhappy Ireland, it is but natural that whatever affects our dear "Poland of the Seas," and her faithful children abroad, would have for me a deep and abiding interest; hence, though not a member, I cannot be

indifferent to the designs, prospects, and ultimate fate of the Fenian movement, which, at the present time, appears to attract the attention of friends and foes.

As one of the former, without having any knowledge whatever of the Brotherhood's plans, or of their means, present or prospective, I boldly predict, in the most positive terms, the full and permanent success of their cause. I beseech you, gentle, or ungentle, reader, not to laugh when I tell you I make this unqualified prophecy on the "baseless fabric of a vision." But, what if you do laugh; did not the great London Times, a short while ago, laugh at the New York Herald's "full accounts" of this organization? and, for all that, the real living flesh and blood Fenians are keeping time to the eternal progress of events, and their cause "is marching on."

This the Thunderer seems now to admit, for he has lapsed into a most serious mood, and gives the Brotherhood some very *Christian* hints, which I read in late public journals, with much concern for my brave countrymen; and as "in poison there

is physic," so in this envenomed effusion of the servile Times I found a stimulant for thought, and, upon the impulse of the moment, dashed off the following lines, which served for my evening prayer:

Eternal and all-powerful God,
Incline Thy gracious ear;
My country's just appeal to Thee,
O God, I pray Thee hear.
Thine and Gideon's sword, O Lord !
Place in Thy servant's hand,
The tyrant, hip and thigh, to smite,
And hurl him from the land.

Behold, O just and mighty God !
This guilty tyrant's reign,
And see, with Thine all-searching eye,
The heaps which he has slain,
By famine, sword, and penal laws.
See the savage work go on,
'Till, joy to him ! "the Irish race
Is, with a vengeance, gone."

But Thou, O Lord ! art yet above,
And Irishmen still live,
Who, with Thy gracious aid, O God !
A blow will shortly give ;
A vengeful, final, crushing blow,
Old scores to pay in full,
And sweep, forever, from the land,
The beastly ghoul, John Bull.

CHAPTER II.

M Y D R E A M .

FULL of these things, on the night in question, I retired to rest, and, being somewhat fatigued by the labors of the day, I was soon in a profound slumber, when, behold! much to my surprise, in an incredibly short space of time, I found myself, on my native heath, a Fenian commander, and, like Suwarrow, "standing in my shirt" drilling my "avenging angels," for so I called the Fenian boys, whom I passed on the double-quick, through several evolutions; and had just formed square, when, lo! my eye was arrested by the approach of two persons, who, splendidly mounted, vied with the wind in the swiftness of their coming, one bearing aloft the cherished green flag, while the other

unfurled to the breeze the mighty banner of the Stars and Stripes.

Judge of my amazement, when I beheld before me Lord Edward Fitzgerald and General Richard Montgomery. Sans ceremonie we entered the square, which, at a sign, faced inwards, when Montgomery discoursed as follows :

“BRAVE IRISHMEN!—Though often baffled, though cruelly despoiled and persecuted, though made to feel, in its direst form, the cold-blooded, deadly, exterminating policy of your beastly Castlereaghs, though your savage tyrants have deemed their hellish work accomplished, and pronounced you ‘gone, with a vengeance,’ yet do I find you, like your own fabled bird, springing up from the ashes of your noble sires, and preparing to finish their glorious battle.

“Yet do I find you the true and faithful children of the grand old Irish race, unextinguished and irrepressible ; and, once more, appealing to a just God and to sympathizing man for the right you have to your own beloved country.

“These things, my countrymen, are not the mere results of chance, they are the work of the Most High! as your generous patriotic promptings are the inspirations of Heaven.

“Oh! it is a glorious thing to fight, and, if needs be, to die for Ireland. But, my friends, if you would be finally triumphant, the fight must not be begun, but must be ended, here.”

He then shouted, in a voice that thrilled my very soul:

“*You must place the Atlantic between you and your powerful enemy. FOLLOW ME!*”

Here Lord Edward thundered forth, “MARCH!”

In a moment, I found myself on the heights of Abraham, amid the din and fury of a dreadful battle, and with my “avenging angels” rushing to the breach; which, after a brief but bloody struggle, we carried, to the music of that ever certain precursor of victory, the well-known, soul-stirring Irish cheer.

Soon I turned my captured guns upon the discomfited foe, whilst he, with wonderful celerity,

concentrated his remaining artillery upon my dearly bought position; and thus, with renewed vigor, did the terrible battle rage; when, on a sudden, my fire ceased, and I found, to my utter horror, that my ammunition had been all expended.

Victory was wrested from my grasp.

But just then, just as I was preparing to retire my force to safer ground, a courier came dashing in, and the gladdening shout of "Fenians, to the rescue!" was heard along the lines.

Our American brothers had arrived.

Full of joy, we now bore down every thing before us, and entered Quebec to the enlivening strains of "The Green above the Red" and "The Star-spangled Banner." Here I again saw my noble mentor, Montgomery, who cried aloud :

"My death is avenged!" and then continued: "Proceed in the great work. Merge these provinces into one State, to be called New Ireland; be friends with the great Republic, and delay not in building up a modern navy. Then will Ireland take her place among the nations of the earth. Then

must pirate England shrink within the limits of her own island shores."

As Montgomery ceased speaking, Lord Edward came forward, and shouted out, in a voice that made the very earth tremble:

"Let the nations rejoice; the accursed British monster is doomed."

He then, by proclamation, called upon the scattered children of his race and country to hasten with their strong arms, and with their wealth, to this vast domain which the Eternal God had given them; and from here, with their united strength, to strike for their native land.

This advice was not uttered to deaf or unwilling ears; for, in a moment, I beheld the highways, and the byways, and the fields, flooded with my faithful countrymen, who, pressing forward to our "New Jerusalem," were all eagerness to aid in the noble work. And, as if Heaven had determined to reward such patriotic toil in a twofold manner, I saw shipyards, foundries, commerce, trade, and golden harvests spring up throughout the whole land. While, at the same time, a fleet of Dun-

derbergs, manned by our own brave tars, and a splendid army of the same indomitable stock, appeared full upon the view.

CHAPTER III.

M Y D R E A M C O N T I N U E D .

THE long wished-for day had at length arrived. The Irish were now *prepared* to “seek their own again,” and not only contest the dominion of their native land, but also the dominion of the high seas, with their savage plunderers.

So with strong proud hearts, and with colors flying, the grand expedition boldly ventured forth upon its glorious mission. Days passed as seconds, and then, behold ! a terrible naval engagement ensued, in which our American fifteen-inch guns did tremendous execution, sinking the Great Warrior, and three other ships of the same class ; crippling a heavy frigate, which became our prize, and dispersing the rest of the enemy’s Channel fleet.

Hurrah! we were now masters of the situation, and I was soon pressing my native sod again.

Oh! how my swelling heart throbbed with joy, when I looked around at my beloved country, and contrasted her dawning future with the dreadful past. But my emotions were soon checked by the intelligence that an English army was at —, a small town some fourteen miles distant, committing their usual barbarities, and spreading terror all around.

As quick as thought, I found my “avenging angels” ready for the march, when I addressed them in the following words :

“MY BRAVE COMRADES!—To you it is given to execute the recorded judgment of the Most High God upon the foul and infamous oppressors of your country. You and your noble race are the victims of their fiendish crimes. It is meet that you are here to punish the criminals.

“For the first time throughout the history of your wrongs, on your own soil, you now meet the hated enemy as his equal in discipline, in arms, and in men. In every thing else, I need not say, you are vastly

his superior. Therefore, with the confidence that this knowledge gives, strike home, and never forget that the stake we fight for is Ireland !

“I need not stir up your vengeful souls to deeds of noble daring, by calling to your mind the bitter persecutions, confiscations, and cold-blooded butcheries, the halter, the pitch cap, the hulk, and the judicial murders which this poor land has witnessed for centuries.

“Need I tell you of the crowbar brigade, of the destitute houseless, of the fever-stricken poor, and their grassy food, of the babe seeking nourishment from the breast of the starved dead mother, and of the pauper’s grave ? Nor need I refresh your memory with regard to the bloated, malignant press, another agent of your tyrant’s refined cruelty, which, not content to gloat over your dreadful condition at home, must follow and hound you down in foreign lands. But enough ! The blood of millions cries to offended Heaven and to you for vengeance upon the brutal perpetrators of these sickening, horrid crimes.

“See to it, my brave Fenians, that that cry is not raised in vain.”

There was no mistaking the temper of my bold "avengers." I saw in their eye that which boded the *Sasanagh* no good, as the hills resounded with their response.

We now pushed forward, and soon confronted the enemy, his artillery well posted on a range of low hills, his left flank resting on an impassable morass, while his right was protected by a sudden curve in the stream, which ran in front, and by a heavy force of cavalry.

Numerous rifle-pits, on both sides of the stream, swept the front and flanks of this well-selected and formidable position; the whole covering a mountain-pass which led to the Dublin road.

Being satisfied on these points, my force was soon properly ordered. My heavy Parrot battery of twenty guns occupying a swelling ground in front of the enemy's right centre; on my left of this point, in an undulating meadow, I posted two eight-pound Weird batteries, and on my right, on a slightly elevated plateau, a like number of Napoleon's, of the same calibre, keeping some ten splendid light pieces as a reserve.

My infantry was already formed into three divisions, with a reserve of 6,000, all properly disposed. My cavalry, which was light, was ordered to the left, and my sharp-shooters were measuring their range from improvised rifle-pits in front.

These dispositions being made, the battle was opened with terrible fury. But soon I had the satisfaction to observe that my heavy Parrots were doing splendid work, making every shot tell, while with cool, firm valor we were steadily gaining ground.

To guard against any attempt in that quarter on the part of the enemy, two regiments of reserves were sent to support the left.

Six pieces of my reserve artillery were ordered into action. And now, being fully prepared for it, the enemy's rifle-pits were carried in fine style,—my sharp-shooters holding both banks of the stream.

Pressing my advantage, I soon ordered a charge upon his right centre batteries.

My gallant "avengers," whom strict discipline could alone have held back so long, needed but the word. With the utmost impetuosity they dashed across the stream and up the difficult slope, reserv-

ing their fire until within half pistol-shot distance, when they delivered it with the most withering effect; and then, with a deafening cheer, cleared the hill of the terror-stricken foe, capturing sixteen pieces of artillery, and some two thousand prisoners.

The enemy's lines were now penetrated, my left was pressing heavily upon his now detached right, and my right holding his left as in a vise, while my heavy Parrots were hurried to the captured hill, where they soon opened right and left, and caused fearful havoc.

And now, while the enemy, in the most hurried manner, was endeavoring to withdraw his right from its very critical position, another charge was ordered, and most splendidly was it executed by my impetuous left. The Irish cheer was again raised: the hills in front were swept as by the besom of destruction. For two miles the red-coats were pursued, cut to pieces, or captured.

Camp spoils, a large number of small-arms, ten pieces of artillery, and six thousand prisoners, were the awards of this noble charge. A force was now thrown forward to secure the mountain-pass.

My victorious left was moved upon the enemy's flank and rear.

My Weird batteries came tearing in, and were soon posted in the places assigned them.

And my irrepressible Parrots were pegging away at the still stubborn foe, who, now thoroughly sensible of his danger, in a last terrible effort was pressing heavily on my right, with the evident intention of breaking through in that direction. But this did not avail him, for my reserves were soon at that point, and effectually checked him there.

In fact, the day was ours. The enemy was driven from his intrenched camp; his ranks were thinned by heavy losses, and staggered under my terrible and well-directed fire; and he evidently hoped for the pall of darkness, under which, if possible, to save a remnant of his shattered army. But this was not allowed him. The time had now arrived for striking home, and my force being well in hand for that purpose, and in fine spirits, a charge was ordered along the whole line.

The memory of that glorious charge will live forever in my brain.

Rending the air with their united cheers, my invincible brave boys rushed forward, clearing every obstacle, cutting down, capturing, and scattering the now panic-stricken and disorganized enemy; and with the rage of so many panthers, pursuing the fugitives until darkness closed upon the scene.

Here I again saw Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who exclaimed in joyful tones, "*Sic semper tyrannis*; my death is avenged."

My gallant, but ever vigilant, "avenging angels" slept upon the field, and counted among other results of their glorious victory, some forty pieces of artillery, thirty thousand stands of small-arms, two hundred wagons, one hundred and fifty horses, and a vast amount of camp equipage and stores, together with some eighteen thousand prisoners, and numerous stands of colors.

The moral effect of this victory was all that could be desired. The country-people came thronging to our standard from all directions, and under the magical influence of Hardee's tactics, were soon transformed into excellent troops.

Thanks to our glorious beginning, and the enthusiastic support which we everywhere received as we advanced, we had arms and supplies in abundance.

And though my army had swelled to eighty thousand effective men, I did not choose to divide it, but pushed on with my whole force.

Nor did I rest my victorious columns until I planted the SUN-BURST of my country, and its foster STARRY BANNER, on the *Irish* Castle of Dublin, which was done amidst the ringing of bells, the shouts of the populace, the thrilling cheers of my gallant army, and the deafening salutes of two hundred pieces of artillery.

Here a legion of mute martyrs passed before me, each bearing a small Irish flag, and inscribed thereon this motto: "My death is avenged."

I now took up my quarters at the late residence of the fugitive lord-lieutenant, and being much fatigued by my late harassing duties, retired to rest; when, stretching my weary limbs in bed, to my infinite amazement I found myself broad awake,

though for some time after I could scarce believe but that all I have described was real.

“Such terrible impression made my dream.”

I need not tell the well-informed reader that “there is something in dreams.” Will the Fenians note it?

THE TRUE IRISHMAN,

AND

THE FENIAN MOVEMENT.

FUNDS NEEDED TO INSURE SUCCESS.—HOW TO MANAGE
SUCH FUNDS.—BY WAY OF CANADA, THE TRUE ROAD
TO IRISH NATIONALITY.

Haste me to know it ; that I, with wings as swift
As meditation, or the thoughts of love,
May sweep to my revenge.—SHAKESPEARE.

Give me my love, my honor : give 'em back ;
Give me revenge, while I have breath to ask it.—DRYDEN.

What ! do they think me such a milky boy,
To pay my vengeance with a few soft words ?—THOMSON.

Away ! away ! I will not hear
Of aught save death or vengeance now ;
By the eternal skies I swear,
My knee shall never learn to bow !
I will not hear a word of peace,
Nor grasp in friendly grasp a hand,
Linked to the pale-browed stranger race,
That work the ruin of our land.—JOHN O. SARGENT.

THE love of “home” is deeply implanted in the
Irishman’s heart. Wherever he wanders, whatever

sky looks down on him, his soul turns with intense longing to his own "loved island of sorrow." Hence it is that he ever cherishes the hope of seeing his native cot again; and ever dwells with anguish upon the dark and cruel fate of his country.

Give him but half a chance, and he will risk his all to free her from the foul grip of the hated oppressor.

The noble remnant who still, unsubdued in spirit, cling to home, amidst all its desolation, are ever hopeful, ever anxious for the day that will see them grapple with their beastly tyrants, and wreak upon them their long pent-up vengeance.

Such being Irishmen's laudable feelings, with their country always in the throes of death, it is not to be wondered at that they have often "grasped at straws," when her salvation was proposed.

They have done so, to their own terrible loss.

They have been tempted into futile efforts at rebellion, without any of the means, except their own almost naked bodies, to insure success,—each new failure making their condition worse (if that were possible), dulling the edge of hope, and followed by

distrust in their cause and in each other. But it will be asked—

What shall be done? Must Irishmen abandon a cause so sacred, so interwoven with every fibre of their heart?

I answer, no.

There is now an organization, the Fenian Brotherhood, which if properly supported, and silently, vigorously, and wisely conducted, will, in due time, accomplish the desired result. But with a view to this end, the magnitude of the task must be fully appreciated; and it may be necessary to work keenly and incessantly for years.

Men and money are said to be the sinews of war; and so they are.

In this case, men could be had in any number; but without money nothing whatever can be done in these modern times.

It is therefore very evident that the creation of a very large fund should be the Brotherhood's first care.

It is also quite evident that such a fund must be raised by numerous individual subscriptions.

If persons giving to this fund could be assured that their money would not be misapplied, nor used until the time, when, other things being favorable, there would be a sufficient amount to insure success, it is not to be doubted that an immense fund could be raised in a few years, for Irishmen are no niggards in their country's cause. But, like other people, they wish to have something for their money,—some evidence that it is still held safely in trust for their benefit, or the benefit of the cause; or returned to the subscribers within a given number of years, if, in the mean time, it cannot be used with fair chances of success.

To answer such reasonable expectations, the Fenian Brotherhood, in every State of the American Union, should be formed into a banking association.

Shares might be put at \$10 each, with the privilege to the subscriber of one or more shares, as he may elect to take.

These banks should be regularly chartered under the State laws.

The by-laws of each bank should be made so as

to give each member one vote in the election of a board of directors, to hold office for one year, and be eligible for re-election. The whole to be presided over by an executive committee, to be formed by the election of three members from each board.

The banks to so arrange their business as to be ready to wind up their affairs, if necessary, at the close of every year, and to keep at least one-fourth of their capital always ready for immediate use.

In the mean time, the remaining three-fourths should be managed for the shareholders' benefit.

Such a system of moneyed institutions could not fail to produce desirable results.

They would give confidence to all persons concerned, not only in the ultimate success of their cause, but in each other's honesty of purpose; and as banks of exchange and deposit, would be exceedingly popular.

But, it will be objected, suppose you have a fund of a hundred millions, what are you going to do? I answer—

Walk into Canada. There is already there a strong element opposed to British dominion. Unite

with it, and let the provinces be the first slice from the British empire. Make that the base for future operations, and the rest will follow in good time.

One success ever leads to another. That immense territory in your hands, you would have a country and a flag which, I need not say, would be a powerful advantage; then, with stalwart, educated labor, and a determined will, England's boasted wooden walls might soon be forced to do homage to the sea-going "monitors" of your young empire.

This is no Utopian scheme. It is a scheme that is perfectly practicable, and would be certain to receive the sympathy, if not the open support, of the American people.

To be sure, this would be a rather roundabout way for freeing Ireland; but in this case "the long way round is the safe way home." Besides, if a shorter should offer, as in the event of England being drawn into a war with some first-class power, you would be in a condition to take advantage of it, and might go the more direct and shorter way.

Such a position once attained, a New Ireland, well and firmly established, the movements in Old

Ireland would soon result in the victory which is the desire of every heart.

. . . Time at last sets all things even ;
And if we do but watch the hour,
There never yet was human power
Which could evade, if unforgiven,
The patient search, and vigil long,
Of him who treasures up a wrong.—BYRON.

THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS.

BRAVE countrymen and friends, arouse!

The time approaches fast

When Erin's flag will be unfurled,

Nailed firmly to the mast.

That banner soon will kiss the breeze,

Triumphantly to wave;

Upheld on breach and bloody field

By spirits true and brave—

By a band of patriots sworn

To avenge the wrongs of years,

And nobly fight for manhood's right,

As Irish volunteers!

Young hearts! brave spirits! Irishmen!

Who that bears the name

Can idly stand, nor lend his aid
To rescue Erin's fame—
To disenthral his native land
From lords' and commons' yoke ;
That brought the brave to felon's fate,
And young and fair hearts broke.
None, none, can witness such a scene,
Nor shrink with craven fears,
But, vowing vengeance, takes his gun
And joins the volunteers !

In that gallant band, old Erin's hope,
Are brave men to be found,
Who will ere long, with pike and gun,
Make tyrants kiss the ground ;
And banish from our own green isle,
And from her sea-girt shore,
The monster which her vitals bled,
And fattened on her gore.
The time is near when sound of drum
Will banish silent tears,
And call out Erin's truest sons
As Irish volunteers !

Freedom or death, the battle-cry
Which nerves this gallant few,
Will be heard ere long on Sleave-na-mon ;
And, echoed back anew,
Will course its way with lightning speed
O'er mountain, plain, and vale,
And carry hope to patriot hearts
Upon the western gale !
Ireland that day will rise *en masse*,
And hail with mighty cheers
The nucleus of her strength and hope,
The Irish volunteers !

“Strange that a noble, generous land,
Enabling others to withstand
The foreign warrior's fierce command,
Should not itself be free.

But, Erin, you never had mourned the sight
Had you brandished your spear in your own good fight !
Had you boldly stood on your mountain crag
And waved o'er the valley your own green flag,
Soon, soon should the stranger have found his grave
Beneath the wild foam of your ocean wave.”—C. P.

THE REAL OBJECT.

IN order to prevent misconception, it is proper to state, that there is nothing contained in the foregoing views inconsistent with American theories of government, and American antecedents of action. To give a correct impression in this regard, I need but direct attention to the events which led to the admission of Texas as a part of the American Federation.

It will be recollected that about 1835, a large American emigration set in to that country, which was then an integral part of Mexico. These emigrants united with a number of disaffected Mexicans, and, on the 2d of March, 1836, through a convention of the people, declared Texas a free, sovereign, and independent State,—a condition which they maintained for several years after.

I need not recount the events which occurred during that period. It is sufficient for my present purpose to say, that in 1837 the independence of Texas was duly recognized by the United States Government; and, as is well known, that Texas, on the 29th of December, 1845, became another bright star in the glorious American constellation.

During the period of her independence, it cannot be doubted that Texas had a perfect right to build or purchase a navy, to raise an army, and for instance, if she had the wish and the strength to do so, to invade Cuba, destroy the Spanish power there, and give the people of that island a free and independent government. And all this might be done with the understanding and the fixed purpose of bringing Cuba under the benign and protecting folds of the American flag.

This is mentioned, because that which was proper to be done, and might be done by Texas in 1837, with regard to Cuba, would be entirely proper to be done, and *may* be done by the Canadas in 1867, with regard to Ireland; and with precisely the same purpose and understanding as above hinted at.

But, be that as it may, whatever be the plans of the Fenian Brotherhood, whatever be the fate of their movement, it is certain that the hopes, interests, aspirations, and the very life of the Irish people are indissolubly wound up with the United States. The Irish are now thoroughly linked with, and implanted on this generous land, and both must flourish or decay together. It is not to be wondered at, then, that Irishmen love the United States with a true and abiding love.

It is not to be wondered at, that the first wish of his heart, with every true Irishman, is to see, not only the British provinces, but his own "green isle of the ocean," wheel into line under the Heaven-inspired institutions of America and her ever glorious banner.

As the independence of the Canadas would be a great step towards a "consummation devoutly to be wished," and as it would be a real Fenian success, whether the Fenians know it or not, the following article from the New York Herald, of the 7th of October, 1865, will be read with interest :

* * * * *

“Now we are disposed to be liberal to our neighbors, who are at the same time a sort of distant relations, but we require guaranties of their future good behavior first, and especially a severance of their connection with our unfriendly rival across the water. Evil communications corrupt good manners. And, however well disposed the Canadians might be towards the United States, they are influenced by their English connection, and always must be while it lasts. While their institutions and ideas are different from ours, and while they are trammelled by sleepy old-world notions, stiff monarchical prejudices, and British influence, we can have no intimate reciprocal relations with them. It would be contrary to the nature of things. The probability is, we should never agree. At least, there could be no sympathy between us.

“The welfare and destiny of Canada, and, indeed, of all the British North American colonies, depend far more upon the United States than upon the mother country. The connection between England and these colonies is artificial. By proximity to this country, by habits of life, by natural wants, by

the necessity and power of commerce, and by aspirations of the future, they are much more closely allied to us. But they are debarred from the advantages of such a natural and intimate association with us as they ought to have, by being dependencies of Great Britain. As long as they are in that condition they belong to the old-world system. They will drag along a slow, drowsy existence ; they will not have the spirit or enter into the system of the new world ; and they will lack the vigor and progress of the adjoining States of this Republic. Their past history and present condition show this to be true. We shall overshadow them, and, relatively, they will retrograde. And this must be the case, in spite of geographical position, affinity with us, claims of commerce, or any thing else, as long as they remain separated from us by the chasm of dissimilar institutions.

“ Let the colonies become republics, as they ought to be, and we can then make the most favorable reciprocity treaty with them. They will belong then in reality to the American system, and not to the European. They will be inspired with new life and

vigor, and with their immense undeveloped resources will rival the States on their border in progress and wealth. They must identify themselves with the interests of this country, by having similar institutions, or we cannot make the treaty. But let them do this, and we will take them by the hand and give them the reciprocity treaty they want."

THE FENIANS.

FACTS ABOUT THE FENIANS,

BY ONE WHO KNOWS THEM.

UNDER this heading, the Liverpool Journal publishes the following statements :

The Fenians are the topic of the day. They monopolize the attention of the London editors, and are the particular pets of the papers. Irish correspondents shroud them in moonlight mystery, and would lead one to believe they are a species of invisible green conspirators. Some people call them fools, some designate them madmen, and a great many believe there is some method in their madness. Some doubt their existence altogether, some believe in them, and can give a rehearsal of some misad-

venture in the moonshine to sustain the story of their credulity. Every dog has his day, and the Fenians are certainly having their full share of the daylight. Who or what are they?

ORIGIN.

The Fenian Brotherhood, we are told, is an entirely Irish-American organization. It is no new institution, for it has been in existence for the past eight years. Its founders were two of the Irish exiles of 1848, Colonel John O'Mahony and Michael Doheny, the latter one of the most talented and dangerous members of the Young Ireland party, and a fervent admirer of John Mitchel. In conjunction with them was the late General Corcoran, of the United States Army.

THE FOUNDER.

O'Mahony was totally unconnected with the Young Ireland movement, till the year 1848. He is the present representative of one of the oldest and most respected families in Munster, possessing large estates in the county of Tipperary, and at the time

of Mr. Smith O'Brien's *fiasco* was a mere youth. Youth as he was, however, he had influence enough to gather around him about fifteen hundred of the peasantry, who encamped on the Tipperary hills, and maintained their position for three weeks, till, being completely surrounded by the military, the futility of further resistance became apparent, and they quietly dispersed. O'Mahony and some of his friends, among them a youth named Savage, who has since made himself known as an Irish-American *litterateur*, made their escape to France, where, it is said, the plans for the future revolutionary organization were formed. After some years' residence in France, O'Mahony migrated to America, where, in conjunction with Corcoran and Doheny, he set the Fenian Brotherhood afloat. In its early days, the Fenian Brotherhood differed much from its present form of existence. It was at first a semi-secret association; its meetings were secret, and though its chief officers were publicly known as such, the operations of the Brotherhood were hidden from the public view. Originally numbering perhaps a score of members, it progressed so rapidly among

the Irish population in America that in a few short years *it numbered scores of thousands, ranking as its members many Irishmen of position and influence.* The Irish are certainly good haters, and would have charmed the heart of Dr. Johnson. They hate the English in Ireland, and do not learn the art of loving them abroad. To this detestation of every thing English, the Fenian organization owes the number and influence it has attained under the guidance of Colonel O'Mahony. For five years or more, the Brotherhood maintained its semi-secret character, rapidly spreading its ramifications through every State of the American Union, and through Canada and the British provinces. A regular system of communication was maintained by all the branches with the Head Centre, O'Mahony, to whom was committed the despotic rule of the vast fraternity.

EARLY DIFFICULTIES.

The Brotherhood had its assailants. A portion of the Catholic clergy of America at first opposed its operations ; some were its virulent denouncers, while

some ardently espoused its cause. But in America it is notorious that clergy, of whatever denomination, have little or no political influence with their congregations.

CHANGE OF BASE.

Three years ago the Fenian organization assumed a new character. A grand national convention of delegates from the various branches of the Brotherhood was called, and met at Chicago. The delegates assembled to the number of two hundred or thereabouts; they reformed the constitution of the organization, and boldly avowed its purpose and the means relied upon for its attainment.

The objection which was urged by the clerical opponents of the movement was removed, and the Brotherhood became thenceforth an open organization. The members were endowed with power to elect their officers, the head centreship itself was declared an elective office, the organization was divided into States, each State of the Union having its chief centre, who is called State Centre, and means were taken to assure the furtherance of their one object.

Since that time the Fenian movement has spread more rapidly than before, and it is now, perhaps, saying much less than the fact, to state its numbers at not less than three hundred thousand members. Each member pays a dollar as his entrance-fee, and subscribes, in a great many instances, the same amount weekly to the funds of the organization. Peculiar precautions are taken that no member shall have a chance of divulging the vital secrets of the body ; and that kind of miniature republican government is maintained successfully throughout every department.

THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION.

Another "Grand Convention" was held in January of this year, at Cincinnati, attended by some three hundred delegates from the United States, representing two hundred and fifty thousand members, and by delegates from the British provinces and from Ireland. American newspapers state that its proceedings were conducted with all the dignity and courtesy of a national representative assembly. Not so much of the business of that convention,

however, has been divulged as of the former one. One important resolution of the convention was a call made upon each branch of the Brotherhood for five dollars a member, which call, we are informed, has been promptly responded to ; and another, perhaps the most suggestive resolution, to the effect, "that the next convention be held on Irish soil." About the period of this last convention was established a Fenian Sisterhood, which bids fair to rival the masculine fraternity.

OBJECTS OF THE MOVEMENT, AND MEANS FOR THEIR
ACCOMPLISHMENT.

So much for the history of the Fenian movement. Let us take a survey of its objects, and the means relied on for their accomplishment.

The Fenians are avowedly revolutionists, not of that class of Irish insurrectionists who believe it possible to upset the British empire with pikes and reaping-hooks. The Fenian leaders are no mere enthusiasts, but men who have taken up downright revolution as the business of their lives. O'Mahony, the Head Centre, is spoken of, even by the bitterest

clerical enemies of the movement, as a man of highly cultured mind, chivalrous nature, and great determination of character. No one speaks or writes a word derogatory to his personal character, and among the Irish in America he is idolized, while by the disaffected in Ireland he is looked upon as their future deliverer. The organization which this man rules proclaims as its leading axiom, that, to effect an Irish revolution, a grand military preorganization is absolutely necessary; that a disciplined soldiery, led by experienced officers, are a *sine qua non*; and that, in short, to destroy English dominion in Ireland, a desperate struggle must be encountered. Powder, shot and shell, rifles and cannon, are foremost in the Fenian litany. Accordingly, at every meeting of the Brotherhood, the necessity of supplying these indispensables to the revolutionary element in Ireland is earnestly impressed upon the brethren. Money and war-material are freely subscribed; and so great is the ardor manifested in this portion of the Fenian programme, that in two months from its foundation the Fenian Sisterhood alone returned up-

wards of £200,000 sterling to the Fenian exchequer for the purpose of supplying arms. State organizers visit each branch regularly, lecturing and acquiring funds for the same purpose. Monster picnics, fancy fairs, balls, concerts, and fêtes, are constantly being held in each State of the Union, the proceeds of which are avowedly for revolutionary purposes. Nor do they confine their operations to the mere supplying of arms. A fleet of privateers is one of the possibilities of their philosophy. They acknowledge the superiority of England on the seas, and deem it necessary to meet her on her favorite element. They even aspire to the dignity of iron-clads. Not very long ago, the Head Centre of their organization proclaimed an expectation, in which he feels assured there is little chance of his being disappointed, that President Johnson will give to the Irish the same facilities for procuring material of war which the Confederates obtained in England, and that Ireland would be recognized as a belligerent by the American Government; and the New York press are not slow to favor this Fenian

notion. There are many men of undoubted standing at present in the organization. The State Centres are, for the most part, wealthy Irish merchants; many Catholic clergymen are in its ranks; and, not very long ago, a General McGroarty, President of the Fenian Military Council, went arm in arm with Father Wigelt, the Superior of the Jesuits, to head a Fenian procession in Washington. General Meagher is one of its members, and the late General Smith, of the United States army, whose death was recorded by the American papers with strong expressions of regret, was, at the time of his death, a member of the Fenian Central Council. Nearly every Irish officer and every Irish soldier, with scarcely an exception, are members of the organization; and it is no secret that many United States senators and government officials are its avowed friends.

MYSTERIOUS CHARACTER OF THE ORGANIZATION IN
IRELAND.

In the United States there is little room for doubting that the Fenian Brotherhood has attained formidable dimensions. The only question is, has it been successful in Ireland? As a matter of fact, the Fenian Brotherhood does not exist in Ireland at all. Nevertheless, it is not denied that the Fenians base much of their hopes, in the success of their desperate enterprise, on the existence of some form of revolutionary organization in Ireland. It is not denied that the Irish organization is a secret one, to which the American society is an auxiliary. The American leaders avow that the Irish revolutionists at home have done their share of the work, and only wait the supplies necessary from the American sympathizers. That the Irish organization has a widely spread existence is manifest enough by the displays, with the details of which every day's newspapers are filled; yet it is a singular and conclusive evidence of the completeness of the Irish organization, that *although several persons have been arrested during the past*

four years on charges of being members, or attempting to make members of the conspiracy, in not one single case has the government been able to procure evidence of the guilt of the parties. The workings of the Irish society are as impenetrable as the operations of the Greek Heterists, who, by their secret associations, delivered Greece from the Sultan's rule. Certain it is, however, that the American Fenians receive constant reports of the progress of their friends in Ireland. The Irish organization is known by them as the I. R. B., and its invisible chief is the acknowledged head of the entire movement. It was in response to the demand of this "great unknown" that the call of five dollars per head was decreed at the last Fenian convention. No one knows who he is, or where he is, but all believe in his existence. It cannot be said that, at least as far as the Irish revolutionists are concerned, "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing." *The want of knowledge seems their great safeguard.* In the United Irish conspiracy the informer was at work almost from the beginning, and the victims convicted and punished

for complicity were legion, *but this present organization seems impenetrable.*

FENIANISM A SERIOUS FACT, AFTER ALL.

It is easy enough to see the ridiculous side of all these known details of Irish conspiracy, *but it exists as a serious fact, for all that. What it may become, how it will end, who can tell ?*

WHO WERE THE FENIANS?

Irish tradition says that the Fenians were an ancient militia or standing army, employed only on home service for protecting the coasts from invasion. Each of the four provinces, says the tradition, had its band; that of Leinster, to which Fionn and his family belonged, being called the Clanna Baoisgne. This militia is said to have been paid by the king, billeted on the people in the winter, but to have lived in the summer by the chase; and these are supposed to have been the qualifications of a Fenian:

Every soldier was required to swear: that, without regard to her fortune, he would choose a wife for her virtue, her courtesy, and her good manners; that he would never offer violence to a woman; that

as far as he could, he would relieve the poor; and that he would not refuse to fight nine men of any other nation. No person could be received into the service unless his father and mother, and all his relatives, gave security that none of them should revenge his death upon the person who might slay him, but that they would leave the matter to his fellow-soldiers. The youth himself must be well acquainted with the twelve books of poetry, and be able to compose verses. He must be a perfect master of defence. To prove this he was placed in a field of sedge reaching up to his knees, having in his hands a target and a hazel stick as long as a man's arm. Nine experienced soldiers, from a distance of nine ridges of land, were to hurl their spears at him at once: if he was unhurt, he was admitted; but if wounded, he was sent off with a reproach. He must also run well, and defend himself when in fight. To try his activity he was made to run through a wood, having a start of a tree's breadth, the whole of the Fenians pursuing him. If he was overtaken or wounded in the wood, he was refused, as too sluggish and unskilful to fight with

honor among such valiant troops. Also, he must have a strong arm, and be able to hold his weapon steadily. Also, when he ran through a wood in chase, his hair should not come untied; if it did, he was rejected. He must be so swift and light of foot as not to break a rotten stick by standing upon it: able also to leap over a tree as high as his forehead, and to stoop under a tree that was lower than his knees. Without stopping or lessening his speed, he must be able to draw a thorn out of his foot. Finally, he must take an oath of fidelity.

The Reverend Geoffry Keating, who wrote a history of Erin in the year 1630, gravely says:

“So long as these terms of admission were exactly insisted upon, the militia of Ireland were an invincible defence to their country, and a terror to rebels at home and enemies abroad. Goll Mac-Morna had slain Fionn’s father Cumhaill, in battle, and was Fionn’s mortal enemy in early life. Afterwards he made a peace with him, and fought under him as chieftain of the Connaught Fenians. But the supremacy of the Clanna Baoisgne led to feuds; and at last Fionn and his clan, defying the throne

itself, were attacked by all the forces of Erin except those of the king of Munster, who took part with him, and suffered carnage in that battle of Gabhra, wherein Oisin's son Oscar and the king of Cairbre fell by each other's hands. Fionn, who was absent, arrived only in time to close his grandson's eyes; and after this defeat, peace had no sweets for him and war no triumphs. Fionn died at last, it is said, by the lance of an assassin. It is noticeable, however, that the Fenians were not confined to Erin. In the ancient poem on the battle of Gabhra, we read of 'the bands of the Fians of Alban,' Alban being the old name of Scotland, north of the Firth of Forth and Clyde; 'and the supreme king of Breatan,' Breatan being Southern Scotland, of which Dunbreaton, now Dunbarton, was the chief seat, 'belonging to the order of Feinne of Alban;' and also that 'the Fians of Lochlan were powerful.' Now Lochlan was an ancient name for Germany, north of the Rhine; but when the Norwegian and Danish pirates appeared in the ninth century, they were called Lochlanaels, and the name of Lochlan was transferred to Norway and Denmark. It has

been argued from this, that the Fenians were not a militia of Gaels, but that they were a distinct Celtic race, connected with the only two races who are spoken of as having come in oldest time from Lochlan—namely, the Tuatha de Danann and the Cruithne. These are thought to have been some of the Celts who preceded the Germanic peoples now occupying the north German shore and Scandinavia.—*Morley's 'Writers before Chaucer.'*”

FENIAN MOVEMENTS

IN LIVERPOOL.

LIVERPOOL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE LONDON POST.

AGITATION is still rife in Liverpool, in spite of the vigilance of the police, and both drills and meetings for discussion are conducted with comparative freedom. During the present week a numerous meeting has been held. It was attended not alone by men of the lower ranks, but by some persons of considerable means. At this meeting resolutions were adopted to support the Fenian objects and organization, both by money and also by physical aid if necessary. The question was also discussed of the purchase of vessels and the formation of an

armament for privateering purposes ; and the idea of preying upon British commerce at sea, appeared to be keenly relished. A resolution to carry out an object of this kind was put and carried with enthusiastic demonstrations, and much violence and wildness of language. As a proof, however, that the resolution was not mere froth, a call was made for subscriptions, and in a very few minutes nearly £200 was laid down. With the exception of the vamping and declamatory style of talk, which might be expected on such occasions, the proceedings were orderly and business-like. Minutes were read of previous meetings, and memoranda made of the resolutions above described, by a person who acted as secretary. It is feared, with regard to the royal naval reserve, that the Fenian disaffection has spread considerably. A strong feeling is entertained in the town in favor of a rigorous and prompt canvass of both the volunteer and naval reserve forces, in order to discover recreants.

The man who acted as "treasurer" to the Liverpool Centre, and who left the town when the news of the Dublin arrests came, has returned. When

accused of plundering his brethren he snapped his fingers at them, and declared that if they "bothered him" about the money he would give evidence against them, and have the whole hanged. An accredited agent from Liverpool sailed by the last steamer for New York. He was to be joined at Queenstown by a delegate from Dublin. It is stated that both Sir R. Peel and Sir George Grey were apprised months ago of some startling features of the movement, but that the information was regarded as too absurd to be true.

THE IRISH REPUBLICAN BONDS.

WE have been at some pains to ascertain the truth of the statement in one of the morning papers, that the steamers *City of Boston* and *Erin*, which sailed from this port for Liverpool on Saturday, carried out \$1,000,000 in bonds for the use of the embryo Irish Republic; but nobody can be found who knows any thing about it. If any such bonds have been sent, it is believed that John Bull's custom-house officers, on the other side, will make short work with them. That such bonds have really been presented in this city, however, we are informed, admits of no doubt

whatever. The following is a *fac-simile* of one on exhibition in Spruce-street, New York:

| | | | | |
|--|----|---------------------|------------|-----------|
| Harp. | £1 | Goddess of Liberty. | £1 | Shamrock. |
| <p>Ninety days after the establishment of THE IRISH REPUBLIC,</p> | | | | |
| Redeemable by _____ | | | { Board of | |
| _____ | | | { Finance. | |
| Sunburst. | | | | |

FENIANS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

THE Chicago Tribune estimates the number of Fenians in Boston at three hundred, which proves that the writer knows little about the Order, whose whole strength in this country, he says, is only about ten thousand. There are in this city alone nearly three thousand, and we think more than ten thousand in Massachusetts.

THE RELEASE OF JOHN MITCHEL.

THE release of John Mitchel having been granted by the President, on an application of the Fenian Congress at Philadelphia, presented by a special envoy, the Congress decided that a deputation should proceed to Washington, to give expression to the thanks of the organization. Accordingly, Colonel W. R. Roberts, of New York, president of the Senate, and B. Doran Killian, of St. Louis, as special delegates, accompanied by Mr. S. J. Meany, of Toledo, proceeded to the White House, and were given an early interview. On being introduced, Colonel Roberts addressed the President as follows :

MR. PRESIDENT—I have the honor of being delegated by the convention of Irish-American citizens,

assembled in Philadelphia, representing large social classes in thirty States and territories, to wait upon your Excellency and express to you how deeply they feel the act restoring to freedom a man whom they love and venerate for his self-sacrificing devotion to his native land. They remember nothing of John Mitchel's American career. They can never forget that he risked all a patriot should for Ireland. I am sure, your Excellency, the American people will have no cause to regret the sympathy they feel, and the friendship we believe they entertain for their fellow-citizens of Irish birth. We, sir, are not unconscious of the fact, that we have found in America liberty, justice, and an asylum.

President Johnson replied in substance as follows :

GENTLEMEN—I am glad to learn that the steps which have been taken in the matter referred to have met with the approval of the gentlemen who have sent you here. As you, sir, delicately remarked, we could not remember Mr. Mitchel's American career ; but we were anxious, as a mark

of respect and compliment to the large section of our countrymen with whom Mr. Mitchel was previously identified, to yield to their expressed wishes in that regard.

After some further conversation of a friendly character, the delegation withdrew.

THE
CONSTITUTION
OF THE
FENIAN BROTHERHOOD,
1865.

WE, the Fenians of the United States and other portions of America, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, and secure the blessings of liberty for the Irish race in Ireland, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the Fenian Brotherhood in the United States and other portions of America :

ARTICLE I.

Section 1. The Fenian Brotherhood is a distinct and independent organization.

It is composed, in the first place, of citizens of the United States of America, of Irish birth and lineage; and, in the second place, of Irishmen and friends of Ireland living on the American continent, and in the provinces of the British Empire, wherever situated.

Its headquarters are, and shall be, within the limits of the United States of America.

Sec. 2. Its members are bound together by the following general pledge:

“I, —, solemnly pledge my sacred word of honor, as a truthful and honest man, that I will labor with earnest zeal for the liberation of Ireland from the yoke of England, and for the establishment of a free and independent government on the Irish soil; that I will implicitly obey the commands of my superior officers in the Fenian Brotherhood, in all things appertaining to my duty as a member thereof; that I will faithfully discharge my duties of membership as laid down in the Constitution and

By-laws thereof; that I will do my utmost to promote feelings of love, harmony, and kindly forbearance among all Irishmen; and that I will foster, defend, and propagate the aforesaid Fenian Brotherhood to the utmost of my power."

Sec. 3. The Fenian Brotherhood shall be subdivided into State, district, and local Circles,—States and districts to be directed and controlled by State and District Centres, and local Circles by Centres who shall reside within the limits of their respective jurisdictions.

ARTICLE II.

Sec. 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the Fenian Brotherhood of the United States and other portions of America, which shall consist of a Senate and a Representative body.

Sec. 2. The Representatives shall be delegates chosen every year by the Brotherhood in good standing, of the several States and districts. Delegates shall be apportioned among the several States and districts which may be included within the Union and other portions of America, according

to their respective number of Circles, each Circle being entitled to one delegate for every hundred members, more or less, but not less than ten, and one additional delegate for a fractional part of one hundred members exceeding fifty of such Circle.

Sec. 3. The Senate of the Fenian Brotherhood of the United States and other portions of America, shall be composed of fifteen (15) Senators; they shall be nominated by a committee of two from each State and district, elected by the delegates of each State and district in Congress assembled; and such nominees shall be elected by a two-thirds vote of said Congress.

Sec. 4. Each body shall elect its own presiding officers, and shall be the judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each body shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner, and under such penalties, as such body may provide.

Sec. 5. Each body may determine the rules of its

proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Sec. 6. The Senate shall keep a journal, and furnish its members and the Secretary of the Brotherhood with a record of its proceedings; and said Secretary shall furnish such information as may be contained therein to the Representatives of the Brotherhood of the several States, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy.

Sec. 7. The Senate shall choose from their body a permanent President, who shall be Vice-President of the Fenian Brotherhood, and in case of the death, impeachment, inability to act, or removal of the President of the Fenian Brotherhood of the United States, shall act as President of the Fenian Brotherhood.

Sec. 8. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments; when sitting they shall be on oath; and, should it become necessary to try the President or Vice-President of the Fenian Brotherhood, the Senate shall elect its presiding officer *pro tempore*, and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate."

No *ex post facto* laws shall be passed.

Sec. 9. Judgment, in cases of impeachment, shall be final, and at the discretion of the Senate.

The Senate shall meet in perpetual session while in office, and organize within two days after their election, and shall have power to adjourn from time to time, as they may determine.

Sec. 10. The General Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Tuesday of September, at such place as the President and Senate may deem fit.

Sec. 11. All propositions for raising revenue and fixing salaries of officers and employees of the Brotherhood shall originate in the Senate, and be referred to the President of the Fenian Brotherhood for ratification. If he approve, he shall sign and return within twenty-four hours after the receipt thereof; if he do not approve, he shall indorse his objections and return the same to that body, who shall enter his objections at large on the journal, and proceed to reconsider. The President of the Senate then shall summon the Senate, if not already assembled, and present the objections; and then, if

the proposition receive a two-thirds vote, it shall become an ordinance; and, in failure to return within one day, the action of the Senate, by a two-thirds vote, shall become a law.

Sec. 12. The records of the voting, in all such cases, shall be taken and entered at large upon the journal of that body.

No salaried officer shall be a member of the Senate.

Sec. 12. No appropriation of money shall be made but by a vote of the Senate of the Fenian Brotherhood, subject to the conditions and qualifications laid down in Sec. 11, referring to raising revenue and fixing salaries of officers.

ARTICLE III.

Sec. 1. The executive power of the Fenian Brotherhood shall be vested in a President, who shall hold his term of office for one year, and be elected for said term by a General Congress of the Senate and House of Delegates.

Sec. 2. Said Congress shall elect the President by ballot, and a quorum for this purpose shall consist

of two-thirds of said Senators and Delegates, but a majority of the whole shall be necessary to a choice.

Sec. 3. The President shall receive for his services a stated compensation, which shall be neither increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected.

Sec. 4. Before he enters upon the duties of his office, the President shall take the following oath or affirmation :

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the duties of the office of President of the Fenian Brotherhood of the United States and other portions of America, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the Fenian Brotherhood.”

Sec. 5. The President of the Fenian Brotherhood shall nominate a Secretary of Military Affairs, a Secretary of the Treasury, a Secretary of Naval Affairs, and a Secretary of Civil Affairs, whose nominations shall be approved by the Senate; and in case the President fail within a reasonable period to nominate such heads of bureaus, the Senate by a

vote of two-thirds of their body shall fill such positions, having previously given the President twenty-four hours' notice of their intention to do so; and such heads of said departments are hereby constituted a board of advisers to the Executive; and in case of a disagreement between them and the Executive upon any point involving the welfare of the Brotherhood, the same shall be referred to the Senate, whose decision on the point shall be final until the assembling of the next Congress.

Sec. 6. The President shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make arrangements and treaties with persons or powers friendly to the objects of the Fenian Brotherhood; and shall, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint all envoys and ambassadors, and all other officers of the Fenian Brotherhood whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which may be established under the provisions of this Constitution.

Sec. 7. In case any vacancy should occur in any of the departments, or State Centres, by death, resignation, or dismissal, such vacancy shall be filled

by the President, with the approval and consent of the Senate ; such appointee to hold the office during the unexpired term.

Sec. 8. The President may on extraordinary occasions convene both houses, or either of them ; and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, each body may adjourn to such time and place as they shall deem proper.

Sec. 9. The President shall receive envoys and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission the Central officers and State Centres.

Sec. 10. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the Fenian Brotherhood shall be removed from office and expelled, on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE IV.

Sec. 1. State Centres and District Centres, upon the recommendation of the majority of representatives of the respective States and districts who shall

be present at the Congress, shall be appointed and commissioned by the President.

Sec. 2. State and District Centres shall supervise the organization in their respective States and districts, and shall establish Circles, and communicate with all persons therein, who desire instruction or advice. They shall on the tenth of each month make to the President a consolidated report, thoroughly explanatory of the condition of the organization in such State or district. They shall, with the approval of the President and Senate, mark out a route in such State or district for an agent to traverse, with instructions to canvass, to organize new Circles, and inspect old ones.

Sec. 3. Centres shall be elected by Circles; and after the approval of the President, shall be commissioned by the State Centres, each commission being countersigned by the President.

Sec. 4. The Centre shall preside at all meetings of his Circle, and shall report on the last day of each month to the State Centre, setting forth the increase or decrease in his Circle, with names and the average attendance of members, the amount of money

received, the amount disbursed for local expenditures, specifying each item, with the balance on hand remitted to the Secretary of the Treasury. One copy of this report shall be sent to the State Centre; one copy thereof shall be transmitted to the President; and one copy thereof shall be retained by the Circle for future reference.

Sec. 5. Any Circle or Centre not reporting to the State Centre, as above required, for the space of three months, may be declared in bad standing, and be cut off from the organization by order of the State Centre, with the approval of the President and Senate.

Sec. 6. In the absence of the Centre, the Chairman of the Committee of Safety shall preside at business meetings; and in case of his absence, then the next in rank on the committee shall preside.

Sec. 7. A Treasurer shall be nominated and elected by each Circle. It shall be his duty to receive and account for all moneys appertaining to his Circle, and to make up a financial report on the last day of each month. The balance on hand he

shall forward on the same stated day, without fail, to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Sec. 8. A secretary shall be nominated and elected by each Circle. It shall be his duty to make a faithful record of the proceedings of each meeting. He shall keep the financial accounts, and sign the official reports, of his Circle, and shall in all things comport himself in accordance with the established duties of a secretary.

Sec. 9. A Committee of Safety, consisting of not less than three, nor more than seven members, shall be nominated by the Centre, and elected at a regular meeting of the Circle. This committee shall have the power of receiving members, together with the power of expelling them; but in each case their action must be submitted for approval to a meeting of their Circle. A vote of want of confidence in the Committee of Safety will necessitate the immediate resignation of its members.

Sec. 10. Every candidate for admission into the Fenian Brotherhood must be proposed one week before initiation. Members in good standing are alone entitled to a voice in matters of business.

Sec. 11. Members who have not attended a meeting of their Circle, or whose dues remain unpaid for seven successive weeks, when their absence or failure to pay is not accounted for by a legitimate excuse, shall be considered in bad standing, and their names shall be stricken from the roll of the Fenian Brotherhood.

Sec. 12. No member in bad standing shall enter into any Fenian Circle whatever, until he has shown to the Committee of Safety of his previous Circle, sufficient cause to satisfy them of his firm resolve to act thenceforward the part of a truthful and steadfast Fenian. Previous to his admission into the Brotherhood, he shall pay a fine of not less than one dollar, and shall clear up all arrears of his weekly dues.

Sec. 13. Each Circle of the Fenian Brotherhood shall meet once a week for the transaction of business, at such time and place as may be deemed most in accordance with their interest and convenience.

Sec. 14. All discussions upon religious or upon political matters, foreign to the cause of Irish nationality, shall be peremptorily excluded from every meeting of the Fenian Brotherhood. Any presiding

officer who shall violate, or suffer to be violated, the foregoing provision, shall be deposed.

Sec. 15. The weekly dues of each member shall not be less than ten cents, nor shall the initiation fee be less than one dollar. Each Circle can, however, increase the rates of dues and initiation fees in accordance with the devotion and abilities of its members.

Sec. 16. Centres shall correspond with, report to, and be directed by their State and District Centres. State and District Centres shall correspond with, report to, and be directed by the President.

Sec. 17. No correspondence other than official can be had with headquarters, except through Centres, State and District Centres; and any infringement of this rule will be considered a misdemeanor, and be treated accordingly; except when a party aggrieved shall have presented his complaint to his Centre, or State or District Centre, and such Centre, State or District Centre, shall have failed for five days to forward his complaint to headquarters, then and in that case the party aggrieved may communicate directly with headquarters.

Sec. 18. Communications on official matters passing between the Fenian Brotherhood and the I. R., and any State or Power whatever, shall, previous to dispatch, or immediately on receipt, be submitted to the President of the Fenian Brotherhood, the President of the Senate, and, if necessary, the Cabinet and Senate. Communications from the I. R. shall be received in the first instance by the President, and, as above provided, laid immediately before the Senate. No communication shall be had by the President of the Senate, Secretaries of Bureaus, or any official, with the I. R., or any Power, save by and with the knowledge or consent of the President, or the order of a two-thirds vote of the Senate.

Sec. 19. Perfidy on the part of a member shall be punished by expulsion. Maligning the objects of the organization, calumniating its officers or members, carrying information to the enemy, or injuring seriously the organization by disgraceful conduct or conversation, shall constitute perfidy. The names and descriptions of all persons guilty of perfidy shall be sent to the President, and by him sent to all Circles

throughout the United States, to be there kept on record.

Sec. 20. When members change localities, they shall carry a letter of introduction and a certificate from the Centre of the Circle to which they had been attached, to the Centre of the Circle to which they are going. This will be taken up on presentation, and reported back to the Centre who issued it, and, when found correct, the bearer thereof shall be received as a member. In places where Circles are very large, cards may be issued to identify members; but such cards themselves shall, in no case, entitle a member to admission into any Circle other than that from which the card issued.

Sec. 21. All the elected officers of the several State or district organizations and Circles of the Fenian Brotherhood shall hold office for a period of one year from the date of their commissions, unless in case of death, resignation, or dismissal. In either of these contingencies, the successor shall hold office for the residue of the unexpired time.

Sec. 22. Resignations, to be valid, must in the first instance be received by a majority of the Circle of

the resigning officer, and next forwarded by his immediate superior to the President for approval.

Sec. 23. Any officer of the Fenian Brotherhood may be dismissed from his position for perfidy, neglect of duty, disobedience of legitimate orders, by a decree of his immediate superior in command, or by a two-thirds vote of his constituents, subject, however, in all cases of appeal, to the approval of the President and a majority of the Senate.

Sec. 24. Each Circle shall have power of enacting by-laws for its special government. These shall be brief and comprehensive, and shall in no way conflict with this Constitution.

Sec. 25. No paid officer of the Fenian Brotherhood shall be a delegate from any circle of the Fenian Brotherhood, or have a vote or voice in any Congress of the Fenian Brotherhood, without permission of Congress, except on business connected with their office.

Sec. 26. All resolutions, constitutions, and laws heretofore adopted for the government of the Fenian Brotherhood are, and the same are hereby repealed, and this Constitution, and By-laws made in

pursuance thereof, are and henceforth shall be known and recognized as the government of the Fenian Brotherhood in the United States and other portions of America.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

He shall be appointed by the President, by and with the consent and approval of the Senate, and shall have full supervision and control of the Financial Department, shall daily audit the accounts of all officers thereof, and make weekly reports of the receipts and expenditures in the same to the President and Senators. He shall employ such additional assistance as he may find necessary, by and with the consent and approval of the Senate.

AGENT OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC.

He shall be appointed by the President, by and with the consent and approval of the Senate, and shall be subordinate to and under control of the Secretary of the Treasury, shall sign all bonds as Agent of the Irish Republic, on receipt of voucher from the Treasurer that the moneys therefor have

been received by him, which voucher he shall file in his department. He shall also assist as secretary for the Secretary of the Treasury, and make out a daily statement of the business of his office for the examination and auditing of the Secretary of the Treasury.

SUBSCRIPTION AGENT.

He shall be appointed by the President, by and with the consent and approval of the Senate, and shall be subordinate to and under control of the Secretary of the Treasury. He shall receive all orders for bonds, and on receipt thereof take the letters unopened to the Treasurer and Corresponding Secretary, in whose presence they shall be opened. He shall receive blank bonds, and a voucher for the amount of moneys contained therein. These letters or orders shall be retained by him and filed in his department. He shall take said blank bonds to the Agent of the Irish Republic, presenting said Agent with the Treasurer's receipt or voucher; and, on the said Agent signing said bonds, he shall receive, *stamp*, and issue the same to parties ordering them, keeping a receipt-book or

other voucher, which shall state the date, number, amount, and description of bonds, by whom ordered, on whose account, how dispatched, and when.

TREASURER.

He shall be appointed by the President, by and with the consent and approval of the Senate, and give bonds to the amount of five hundred thousand dollars, to be approved of by the President and Senate, which shall consist of bonds, mortgages on real estate, and other collaterals. He shall be under the supervision and control of the President and Secretary of the Treasury, and may be removed on the recommendation of the President by a vote of two-thirds of the Senate. He shall receive all moneys of the organization from all sources, and pay out no moneys without an order from the Secretary of the Treasury. Said order must fully explain the object the money is required for; and, if a bill, it must be attached, and the items explained therein. He shall, in case of doubt, refuse to pay until a majority of the Secretaries of Bureaus shall so order by their indorsement. He shall be guided in pay-

ments, and pay nothing foreign to the following heads, viz :

First. Remittances to I. R., on order of the President and President of the Senate.

Second. Secret service, by indorsement of the head of Military Department.

Third. Organizing expenses, by indorsement of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Fourth. Salaries of officers, by indorsement of secretaries of their respective departments.

Fifth. Military envoys, by indorsement of the head of that department, or his deputy during his absence.

Sixth. Naval affairs, by indorsement of Secretary of that department.

He shall render a daily statement of the receipts and expenditures, under their respective heads, for the examination and auditing of the Secretary of the Treasury.

He shall allow the Agent of the Irish Republic to examine his books, for the purpose of perfecting weekly statements to be furnished by the Secretary of the Treasury to the President and Senators.

He shall be entitled to employ an Assistant Treasurer, to be appointed by the President, by and with the consent and approval of the Senate, who shall give bonds in an amount sufficient to satisfy the Secretary of the Treasury, and whose business it shall be to keep the books of this department and superintend the same.

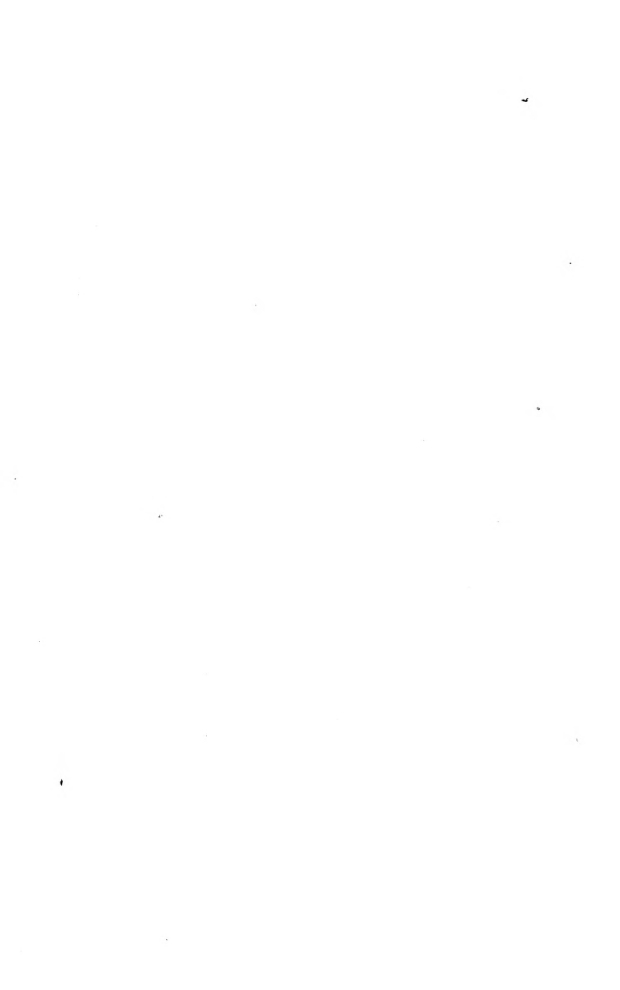
The Treasurer shall give to the Secretary of the Treasury a power of attorney for and in the name of the Assistant Treasurer, to be used only in case of accident to the Treasurer (or his blank check, as he may elect), for which the Secretary shall give him a bond of indemnity that it shall not be used improperly.

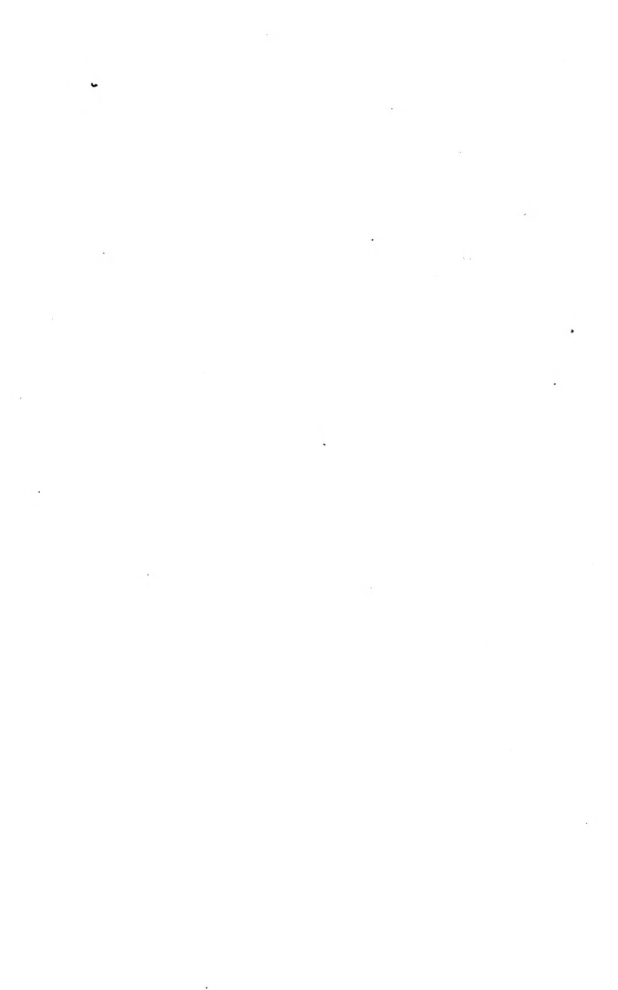
The Treasurer shall give a receipt for all moneys received from the several Circles and other sources (exclusive of bonds) to the Corresponding Secretary, who shall remit said receipts to the proper parties, keeping a record of his correspondence. All letters shall be opened in the presence of the Treasurer, or Assistant Treasurer, Subscription Agent, and Corresponding Secretary.

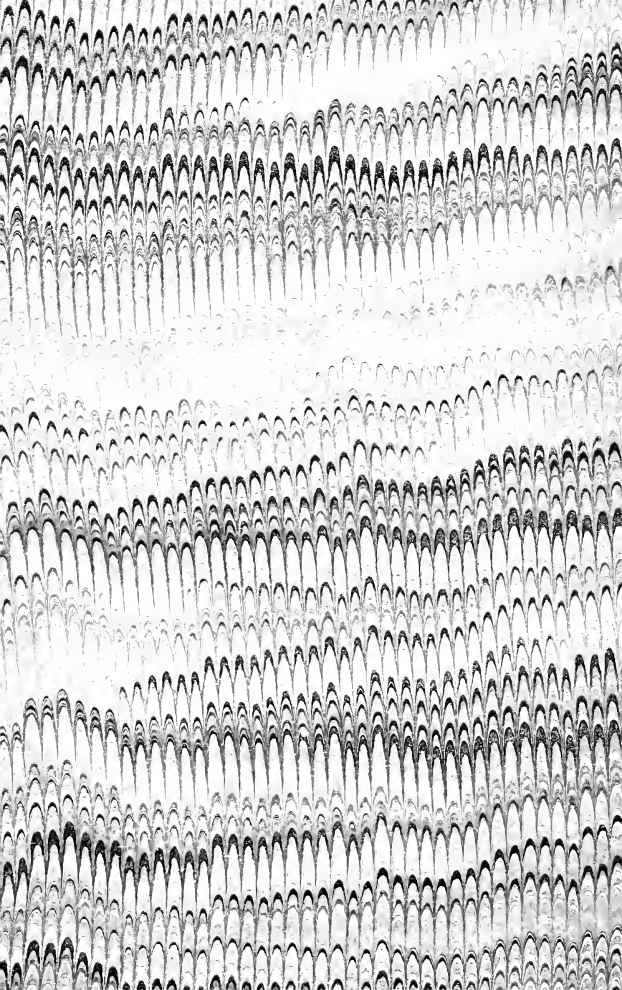
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

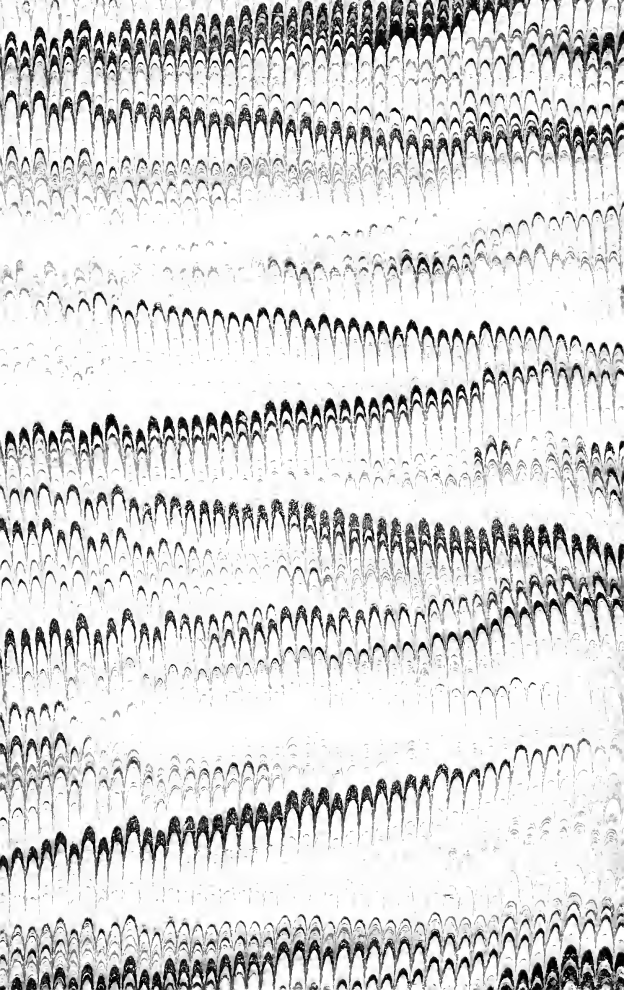
There shall be a Corresponding Secretary, who shall be under the supervision and control of the Secretary of the Treasury. He shall be appointed by the President, by and with the consent and approval of the Senate. He shall receive all correspondence connected with his department, in the presence of the Subscription Agent and Treasurer. He shall file all letters in his department from the several Circles and other sources, not connected with or in reference to the issue of bonds of the Irish Republic. He shall take receipts from the Treasurer for all money received (exclusive of subscriptions for bonds), and remit them to the proper parties.











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